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THE NEGRO RACE AND EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

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While in the past century populations and racial elements which had formerly been far distant from each other have been brought into intimate contact, the twentieth century will witness the formation of new mixed races and the attempt to adjust the mutual relations of all the various peoples that inhabit the globe. The recent great advance in the safeness and rapidity of communication has made the whole world into a community whose solidarity of interests becomes more apparent day by day. Closer contact with the more advanced nations of the Orient will have a profound influence upon European civilization, because these nations, though ready to adopt our industrial methods, are determined to maintain their national beliefs and customs. Though from the races that stand on a lower level of civilization no such deep-going influence upon European and American life is to be expected, their relations to the peoples of more advanced culture will nevertheless be a matter of great moment. Some of them, the weakest and lowest in organization, may indeed continue to fade away before the advance of European power; but this is not likely to be the fate of the negro race. The negroes have come in contact with the worst side of European civilization; yet their buoyant, vigorous constitution and their fundamental common-

sense carry them safely through dangers which have proved fatal to other races. They are therefore destined to be a permanent element in the composite population of the future, and when we consider the extent and fertility of the regions which they hold, the necessity of their ever-increasing co-operation in the economic life of the world becomes apparent.

The negro race may be studied in four different sets of conditions: in their original state in the forests of central Africa; as a mixed race under the control of the Arab and Hamite races of the northern Sudan; living side by side with a white population in respect to which they occupy a socially inferior position, as in South Africa and North America; and in a few isolated communities which enjoy rights of self-government based upon European models, as in Hayti and in the French Antilles. A correct understanding of any part of the negro question demands a review of the situation of the negro under all these varying conditions, because only through a comparison of the aboriginal characteristics of the negro with the qualities acquired through contact with other races and civilizations can we form a just estimate of his relative capacity for progress.

We need not here enter into the controversy between polygenists and unigenists, since it has a purely ethnological interest, whereas we intend to approach the question from the point of view of the political activities of the present. No matter what may be the origin of the diversity which the human races at present exhibit—whether the result of the amalgamation of an almost infinite number of disparate groups, or the consequence of continued diversification of an original type—the negro race today exhibits such characteristic features and such distinct traits as to induce many observers to consider it as entirely incommensurate with the white race; yet, on the other hand, it is physiologically connected with the Aryans through a long series of mixed races. As we pass from Morocco or from Cairo toward the center of the Sudan, the color of the population gradually grows darker, and their features, from the regular and often beautiful type of the Hamite, merge off into the coarser characteristics of the negro race. From the pure white skin of the Berber to the

yellow of the Tuareg, the copper tint of the Somali or the Fulbe, the chocolate of the Mombuttu, and the ebony of the Jolof, the color gradations are imperceptible; and no conception is more utterly mistaken than that which would people all of central Africa with a black-skinned race.

The physiological aspects of race-mixture have lately attracted much attention. Mr. James Bryce, in his recent lecture on "The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races," carefully reviews the experience of mankind in this matter, and adds his support to the current assumption that mixed breeds are morally and physically weak when the parents belong to widely disparate races and civilizations. However, it would seem that this assumption is true only in cases where the two societies to which the parents respectively belong maintain a repugnant attitude to each other, so that the mestizos form an outcast class and suffer a total loss of *morale*. Where friendly relations exist, the mixed races produced by Europeans and negroes exhibit some very fine qualities. The rich yet delicate beauty of the mulatto women in Martinique, their sweetness of temper and kindness of heart, so excited the admiration of visitors that they all, lay and clerical, French and British, join in the chorus of admiration and declare the women of Martinique the most charming in the world. Intellectually, the mulatto race has produced a number of remarkable men, and the liberality of mind among the leaders of this class in Martinique is certainly most noteworthy. Still it is generally true that the men of a mixed race will exhibit fewer pleasing qualities of character than the women: they must make themselves useful often by activities not conducive to sweetness of temper or honesty of mind; while the women naturally develop more gentle and attractive characteristics.

The question of race-mixture between Europeans and negroes is, however, at present of little practical importance. In the regions where large numbers of Europeans and negroes live side by side the social laws more and more stringently forbid a mixture of the two elements; moreover, the number of Europeans who settle in central Africa will probably always be exceedingly small. But there is another racial element which will in the future have

a very prominent part in the physiological modification of the African race. All along the east coast of Africa immigration from India is taking place. Both coast and inland regions are very well adapted to settlement by the Hindus, and no race-antipathy exists between them and the negroes. We may in the near future look for a great inpouring of Indian coolies, tradesmen, and settlers, who, together with the Arab and Hamite elements coming from the north, will leaven the mass of the African population.

While physiologically the transition from the negro to the white race is a gradual one, the distinctive type of negro civilization is yet very different from that which we call European. The last few years have witnessed a great change of mind in matters of humanitarianism; the absolute unity of human life in all parts of the globe, as well as the idea of the practical equality of human individuals wherever they may be found, has been quite generally abandoned. Without going into the question of origins, it is clear that conditions of environment and historical forces have combined in producing certain great types of humanity which are essentially different in their characteristics. To treat these as if they were all alike, to subject them to the same methods of government, to force them into the same institutions, was a mistake of the nineteenth century which has not been carried over into our own. But, after all, it is difficult to say which is the more surprising—whether the remarkable recurrence of similar customs and ideas, similar ways of looking at things, in the remotest parts of the world, and in most distant epochs,¹ or whether it is the existence of clearly marked, almost unchangeable psychological types differing radically from each other. Thus when we study the negro race we encounter many characteristics and customs which bear witness to the common unity of mankind, and which can be accounted for only by assuming the same fundamental instincts, or the transmission of ideas and institutions through tradition; on the other hand, we find many psychological characteristics which distinguish the negro race sharply and

¹ E. g., the almost universal recurrence among the aboriginal peoples of the ordeal, animistic beliefs, marriage by purchase, etc.

clearly from the European, the Hamite, or the oriental world. Whether these differences are irreducible is a question which further development alone can solve.

Low social organization, and consequent lack of efficient social action, form the most striking characteristic of the negro race. Among the Africans of the western Sudan the matriarchal organization of the family, combined with the practice of polygamy, makes the mother the real center of the family-group and renders impossible the upbuilding of strong families through the inheritance of power and property combined from father to son. The father's property goes, not to his children, but to those of his eldest sister. He can, therefore, not supplement, by his accumulated wealth, the physical and mental endowment bestowed upon his son. The redeeming social trait of the African race is the love of sons for their mothers, which is often very deep and touching. But no great families, and therefore no truly great men or leaders to the manor born, exist among Africans.

Among most of the tribes, although there are notable exceptions, the duties of the marriage relation are strictly observed. This is due primarily to the fact that the husband has paid a respectable sum to acquire his spouse, and his strongly developed sense of private property would brook no interference. Her person, her labor, her attentions, belong exclusively to him. In fact, there is but a difference in degree between the position of the wife and that of the slave. The reasons for entering into marriage are almost always prudential: among the poorer people, the working power of the wife; among the wealthier, the influence of her relatives, form the main consideration. The African bush traders have a wife in every important village on their route, not only on account of the business advantage accruing from her connections, but also for the reason that traders are in constant danger of having their food poisoned unless the kitchen is managed by a friendly spirit.

Slavery among the African negroes is an institution which does not at all correspond to what we understand by that term. No special social disgrace attaches to it, nor is a slave a mere chattel; on the contrary, his property rights are scrupulously

respected. He is merely a more dependent member of the community. Thus a "trade boy" slave on the west coast is obliged only to pay a fixed amount to his master, and he may in prosperous times acquire a good deal of wealth for himself. He may then purchase other slaves, and when he has become powerful even free men will place themselves under his protection, and he will thus become a "king." Even during the last decade, of the three most powerful chieftains in the Oil River region, two were slaves. The fact that a man may be "king" and slave at the same time is certainly unprecedented in any other civilization, which of itself shows that the African institution of slavery can in no way be classed with that of Rome or of the southern states. We shall revert to this matter later on in our discussion of the slave-trade—the dark and terrible side of the institution in Africa.

A lack of social fellow-feeling, an absence of every vestige of patriotism, is shown by the readiness with which negroes allow themselves to be used to fight against their neighbors. The Arab slave-raiders never lack men to fight their battles; for, though their Hamite troops may refuse to attack the bands of another trader, the negroes are always ready for a savage onset, even upon men of very nearly their own flesh and blood. The terrible custom of cannibalism, too, can be explained only by taking into account this absence of a feeling of common humanity. Cannibalistic feasts are usually accompanied by religious frenzy or the fury of war; but this is not always the case. There are thrifty tribes which, in the words of De Cardi, "tap their older people on the head, smoke-dry them, then break them up into small bits, which are rolled into balls and laid away for future use in the family stew." It is remarkable that some tribes, like the Mombuttu, which are distinctly advanced in industrial civilization, are the most voracious among the cannibals; thus the greediness of the Sandeh has earned them, among their neighbors, the suggestive nickname of Niam-niam. In the presence of whites these cannibals are, however, generally anxious to conceal their peculiar practice, and when Schweinfurth visited the realm of King

Munza, the monarch had forbidden all open cannibalism in order to keep offense from the eyes of his guest.

The greatest deficiency of the negro race lies on the side of the mechanical arts. While they practice the smelting and forging of iron, and while some of the tribes have advanced considerably in the art of weaving, the negroes nevertheless show little originality, and have acquired most of these arts from the Hamites. They are far more ready to engage in trade; in fact, the trend of the African negro mind is primarily commercial. Living in a country endowed with abundant natural resources, the negro tribes have found it far easier to procure the few things they need, in addition to what nature furnishes them, by trading with Arabs and later with the Europeans, than by developing industries among themselves. This is, of course, especially true of the coast tribes, and in general it may be observed that industrial civilization is higher in the interior regions of Africa than on the coast, the negro race reversing in this particular the historical experience of Europe and America. No shrewder merchants can be imagined than the bush traders of the forest belt and the "trade boys" of the coast. The subtlest tricks for practicing deception are known to these simple-minded forest-dwellers. Women who have learned the art of mixing with the rubber balls sold to merchants the largest amount of dirt that can escape detection, are said to be especially sought after in the marriage-market.

When we pass on to the specific psychological traits of the African race, we enter a field of darkness and uncertainty. "Race psychology" has of late become a fashionable term; but with most writers it stands merely for a more or less interesting description of racial characteristics, without that close study of origins and causal relations which constitute the science of psychology. Even when employed with great care and scientific precision, as in the works of Herbert Spencer, the psychological method does not always produce convincing results; and often the material it deals with becomes so unmanageable as to furnish no clear generalization, as in the painstaking and ponderous *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz* of Post. Yet, from the point of view

of political activities and social reform, the psychic phenomena of primitive races are a matter of the greatest importance, deserving the most careful attention of the colonial administrator.

The art-sense of the negro is rudimentary. Unlike the Bushman, he has no pictorial or plastic art. His chief pleasure is the dance and the entrancing sound of the tom-tom. Of the marvelous sense for melody that the negro has developed in the Antilles and the plantation states of America hardly a trace is found in the African. But the sense of rhythm exists, and the rhythmic drumming on the tom-tom has an almost hypnotic effect upon the blacks. They sit as in a trance, listening to the marvelous sound for hours; or, should the tom-tom player move about the village, they will follow him in utter abstraction, so that they will often tumble headlong into ditches. On the occasion of great military displays, given in the honor of European commissioners, the various chieftains will each bring forward a band of musicians, who at the height of the festivities all play their instruments with the greatest vigor and totally regardless of their fellow-artists. The tremendous discord and strident volley of sound thus produced give rise to the greatest popular satisfaction. Toutée, however, reports that if a simple tune, like "*Casquette du père Bugeaud*," is played to the negroes, they will listen to it with rapt attention, and will gladly abandon for a time their accustomed instruments.

The art of oratory is much cultivated in Africa. As most of the tribes have no written language, their rich folk-lore is handed down by word of mouth, and whenever men come together they listen to the expert story-teller and orator. The capacity of the American negro for oratory, which has again and again placed young negroes and mulattoes in the position of class orators at leading universities, is therefore an inheritance from customs practised in the primitive villages of Africa. The great occasion for the display of oratorical talent is the palaver—a meeting for the discussion of questions of public interest among prominent persons, or for the trial of cases at law. The African negro shows great ability in the development of systems of law and in the enforcement of rights; this is especially true of the

rules of private property, which are strictly defined and scrupulously observed. Palaver, however, is costly, so that persons who cause much litigation are looked upon as undesirable citizens. Thus, Miss Kingsley saw on a stake before a village the head of a woman whose offense had been that she had "caused too much palaver." In order to prevent the stringing-out of actions, each party has to present the judge with a calabash of palm wine for every day of the sessions.

The intellectual life of the African negro is taken up chiefly with fetishism; that is, with the construction of a spirit-world by which he feels himself surrounded and which he believes is influencing his every act. Fetishism is not unlike the animism of the Brahmin, but it is without the latter's belief in the duality of spirit and matter, and looks upon visible existence as only a grosser form of spirit. According to the belief of the negro, the world was created by potent divinities, who now hold aloof and allow the brutal forces of nature to fight out their battles among themselves. Man, himself a spirit, is caught in the midst of this struggle of forces superior to his own and entirely regardless of his welfare; his only salvation, therefore, lies in escaping as much as possible the attention of these sinister beings. The Africans have neither hero- nor ancestor-worship, and with them, therefore, the idea of divinity is not a development of ancestor-cult. It is true that the spirits of their ancestors are supposed to continue in a sentient existence; they are consulted, but they are not worshiped. Thus, a man will often turn aside, when in company with other men, to say a few words to the spirit of his departed mother, or to ask her advice on the matter in hand. These spirits are called the "friendly ones;" they need not be worshiped; their good-will is already enlisted on account of their natural regard for their mortal relatives. Some of the most cruel customs of Africa result from this conception. Lest the spirit of the husband suffer from solitude, the wives of a deceased man are killed at the time of his funeral. In order that a powerful chieftain may have the proper service and be able to support his dignity in the other world, scores of slaves are beheaded in order to form his spirit retinue. Often the successor of a dead chieftain will send news to him by

a slave, to whom the message is given, and who, after being treated to liberal drafts of palm-wine, is then dispatched as messenger to the other world in the most blissful of moods.

In view of the barbarous customs which continue to exist among the negro population, many investigators have entirely denied the capacity of the negro to advance in the scale of civilization. The physical reason assigned for this inability is the fact that the cranial sutures of the negro close at a very early age. Negro children, it is admitted, are exceedingly bright and quick to learn; remarkable instances of precocious intelligence among them are frequently observed. Thus, the young son of Behanzin, the exiled king of Dahomey, carried off all the honors at the Parisian *lycée* to which he had been sent from Martinique. But after the age of puberty development soon ceases, the expectations raised by the earlier achievements are disappointed, and no further intellectual progress is to be looked for. It is true, many investigators claim that the negro continues his mental growth in adult life, although the sutures of his brain have closed; but the proofs given in support of this favorable view relate rather to increased cunning and craftiness in trade than to the growth of the general intellectual capacities; no one would deny that negroes accumulate experience in later life, but organic development of the faculties seems to cease at an early stage. Even if we accept this unfavorable view, however, it does not necessarily follow that the negro race is permanently uncivilizable. When we look at the low stage of civilization among the African negroes, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that it is due rather to social, political, and climatic conditions than to the physiological, personal incapacity of the negro. The difference between the average negro and the average European does not explain, nor is it at all commensurate to, the difference between their respective civilizations. The social conditions that have kept the negro from acquiring a higher organization lie in the fact of the constant shifting of the African populations, which are not held in place by the physical conformation of territory such as that of Greece and Italy. The African societies were thus not given time to strike roots and to acquire a national tradition and history—the

memory of races—which is one of the chief ingredients of civilization.

We have already seen how utterly all social or national self-consciousness is lacking in the negroes, and how localized their interests are. It is a noteworthy fact, in this connection, that as the negroes have no experience of social or political unity, so their languages can express very few general conceptions. In conversing with negroes, Europeans constantly note that the mind of the individual seems far stronger and more apt than the language which he must use to express his thoughts. Can we not here surmise a subtle connection between the realization of true social and national unity and the existence in the psychology of a race of those general conceptions upon which all higher intellectual civilization is founded? No more striking proof could be found of the truth that we are what we are through society, than the fact that the negro race, powerful in physique, strong and normal in intellect, has not achieved a higher social and intellectual civilization. Should favorable conditions for the existence and development of permanent societies in Africa be brought about, it then would admit of little doubt that the negro race would develop in civilization—a civilization proper to it, rather than an imitation of the European type. In view of the fact that the physiological characteristics of the white race have been profoundly modified in the course of its development, it may not seem altogether extravagant to say that even the cranial structure of the negro race may be affected by a change in its social, political, and economic conditions; or, if we should decide that cranial structure lacks all demonstrable importance in this matter, it might at least be asserted that, if certain conditions inimical to intellectual development after puberty are removed, the negro race may, notwithstanding its unpromising characteristics, develop in civilization. Now, perhaps the circumstance most unfavorable to progress is the powerful strain of sensuality in negro nature, which swallows up all the best energies after puberty has been reached. The deadly climate of parts of Africa, and the horrid conditions of internecine warfare and cannibalism, have heretofore rendered a high birth-rate necessary. With more peaceful

and settled conditions, a gradual moderation of the powerful sexual impulses could reasonably be expected, and we might then hope for the growth of intellectual capacity even after the age of maturity.

In the past the negro race has shown no tendency toward higher development, except under the tutelage of other races; and, among the alien civilizations that have exerted a profound influence upon the African race, that of the Moslem Hamites and Arabs is the most important. Penetrating into Africa from the north by way of the Sahara, the cavalry hordes of the Hamites of north Africa succeeded in forming reasonably permanent states throughout the northern Sudan, and in influencing the native negro societies both physiologically and intellectually. The great principalities founded by the Fulbe in the Niger country, and by the Tuaregs in the region about Timbuctoo, are the most striking examples of this activity. The states thus founded belong to the feudal type; the agricultural negroes form the subject peasant class; while the Moslem invaders constitute a nobility of armed cavaliers. It admits of no doubt that the civilization of Africa has been improved by this conquest. The conquering tribes brought with them a written literature, and many industrial and domestic arts, which they imparted to the conquered races. Of course, this form of conquest was possible only in the regions where cavalry could penetrate; the dense primeval forests of Africa, where the tsetse fly renders the raising and keeping of horses impossible, set limits to the out-and-out conquest by Berber and Arab tribes.

This great forest region, however, the Arabs entered from the north and east as traders, and in so doing they gave an entirely new and sinister meaning to African slavery. As beasts of burden cannot survive in these parts of Africa, the traders needed human carriers to convey their freight. Starting from some commercial town on the upper Nile, they would purchase a sufficient number of slaves to carry their wares into the interior. But the goods transported back, the rubber and ivory, necessitated a much larger number of carriers, so that a great demand for slaves arose wherever the traders penetrated. The chieftains of

the interior were naturally anxious to obtain the goods which added to the not very extreme luxury of their existence. They gave up their slaves in payment, and reimbursed themselves by making slave-raids into neighboring territories. The mutual hostility of the African populations was thus increased a hundred fold. Negroes themselves, converted to Islam, or negro and Arab half-breeds, often became the most cruel slave-hunters. One of the most notorious of these—Tippu Tib—had an escort of ten thousand armed slaves when he made his raids in the neighborhood of Nyangwe on the upper Congo. Whole countries were in this way depopulated, among them the fertile and prosperous region of the upper Congo, whose entire population was driven from its villages, murdered, or carried off into slavery. The entire Makololo tribe, which Stanley had visited, was in this way annihilated, with the exception of the women and children, who were carried to the slave-markets. The cruelty of this traffic and the suffering inflicted upon the captives pass description and comprehension. It is therefore clear that the Moslems acted as a civilizing influence only in the countries where they settled down permanently, and that they brought only woe and destruction to the regions invaded by their slave-trade.

The religion of Islam has been adopted by most of the negro tribes that are subject to Mohammedan rule. But the conversions are usually superficial; a few ceremonious observances are adopted, but for the rest the old customs and practices of fetish continue. Many observers believe that Islam is destined to conquer all of tropical Africa, and that Christianity will not there make any progress. It seems, however, that in the forest region, where the negro race exists in its original form, the rule of fetish is not as yet seriously threatened by either of the two great Aryan religions. Christianity has one advantage over Islam: it can use images to typify noble qualities and characteristics, and thus can make its teachings more comprehensible to the mind of the African, who is not trained to deal with abstract ideas. This Islam cannot do because of its iconomachy; on the other hand, the latter cult has a great advantage in the fact that it demands only a few concrete observances of prayer and fasting, whereas

the code of morals of the Christian religion is so loftily ideal, and is, moreover, so frequently disregarded by most of the whites themselves, that the negroes, in their matter-of-fact way of judging actions and men, lose confidence in Christianity, and fail to understand its true greatness and strength. The idea of a personal, sympathizing divinity has a great attractiveness to the negro mind, haunted as it is by terrible fears of a hostile spirit-world; but the converted negroes are inclined to make very definite demands upon the benevolence of God. Converted to either religion in form, they usually remain fetishists in substance; and when, on an evil day, a prayer for help is not answered, strong doubts spring up, and the negro convert decides that, after all, he had better conciliate the cruel spirits who would make a plaything of him, than trust to help from the great divinity, mighty, but far off, and perhaps, after all, indifferent to his fate. Great social transformations will have to take place in Africa before either Islam or Christianity can truly become the religion of the central African populations.

Having already briefly touched upon the influence of European civilization in Africa, it still remains for us to investigate more closely the momentous problems summoned up by the meeting of white and black races in the Dark Continent. The basis of European intervention in Africa was from the first the clear and well-defined interest of commerce—both the need of dépôts of trade close to the great reservoirs of the natural wealth of Africa, and the fact that the native tribes of the coast levied excessive transit dues upon the commerce of Europeans and of natives. As this has been the primary cause of European interference, so the methods employed in African administration must have in view first of all the creation of a sound economic basis for African life. A civilizing policy must begin at this point. The African negro cannot be civilized by the destruction of his native institutions or by pouring into his mind the sum of European education. The entire economic basis of negro society must first be changed. With the social growth consequent upon this development the individual, too, will become more highly civilized, and the gravest abuses that now bind the negro race will be overcome.

With almost mathematical precision it can be demonstrated that the reform of the most vicious characteristics of African life will be the certain consequence of a few simple changes in economic organization; and we may, indeed, anticipate an unfolding of new and better social energies, when the ground has thus been cleared of the worst impediments to progress.

As the African natives are specially deficient on the side of the mechanical arts, the development of industrial education is of great importance. The African missions, especially those of the English Protestant church, have been much criticised for their methods of education. Thus, Archdeacon Farler, in his report on eastern Africa, says that the instruction given by these missions is too scholastic; other travelers and explorers are most severe in their judgment of the characteristics and behavior of the "missionary-made man." Dressed in European frock-coat and top-hat, and displaying with pride a smattering of English education, the "civilized" natives love to swagger about in the coast towns, despising manual work and the customs of their race. They have stripped off the restraints of their native religion and are far from having adopted the morals of Christianity. In order to avoid the continuance of conditions like these, the missions are being urged to educate the natives to an appreciation of the dignity of labor in the handicrafts, to instruct them in their native language, and to encourage the maintenance of all local customs that are not barbarous. Some of the missions have already achieved much in industrial education and in the manual training of natives. State industrial schools are also being established, both in the French, the German, and the British colonies. By nature, the African negro is averse to labor, which he thinks ought to be performed by women and slaves. He is only too ready to apply to himself the English definition of "gentleman." To many colonial publicists the gradual methods of education appear too slow and uncertain in their results; in order to develop the great natural resources of Africa and to teach the mass of the natives proper industrial methods, they believe that some system of forced labor will have to be introduced; and withal the agitation for the abolition of the native system of slavery in

Africa continues. All these considerations render the labor question in Africa exceedingly intricate and difficult.

In all discussions of African slavery it is very important to distinguish between the slave-trade and domestic serfdom. We have already described the suffering and desolation wrought in large parts of Africa by slave-raids and transportation. Through the efforts of a number of humanitarian spirits, like Cardinal Lavig rie, the public opinion of Europe has been directed toward the extirpation of the slave-trade, and by international agreement the traffic is now forbidden throughout the European dominions in Africa. It has not, however, been possible as yet entirely to suppress it; in fact, such a radical cure could be hoped for only after a total revolution in the methods of African trade has been accomplished. Today the slave-trade is carried on covertly, under the name of "contract labor," even by Europeans in their own colonies, especially in the Congo Free State and in the Portuguese possessions.

When we consider the real nature of the African slave-trade, we shall see how completely its existence is conditioned by the general character of African economic life. As slaves are the only beasts of burden that can be used in the interior, so they are also the most universal and satisfactory currency. At present, when the slave-trade cannot be openly carried on in the coast towns, the trader will start with a consignment of powder and guns, which are comparatively easy to transport. When he reaches the confines of the slave-holding regions, he will begin to purchase slaves, whom he carries with him on his journey, and uses partly to pay for the ivory and rubber which he buys, partly to convey these purchased goods back to the trading-stations. An example of the status of African currency is given by Miss Kingsley, when she describes the fine paid by a local chieftain to a British commissioner for having killed and eaten several converts. It consisted of one hundred balls of rubber, six ivory teeth, four bundles of fiber, three cheeses, a canoe, two china basins, and five "ladies in rather bad repair." The commissioner, being a newcomer, was much astonished, especially at the last item, but Miss Kingsley assured him that they were perfectly "correct" and could be

traded off for ivory. This combination of servant, carrier, and currency makes the slave almost indispensable as long as no railways, roads, and metal money exist. In the remoter regions of Africa this abuse will therefore continue to thrive in some more or less veiled form until the industrial conditions of the country have been changed radically. One result of the long-continued slave-trade is that the population of Africa is far below the natural limit, and large districts of fertile land are almost entirely deserted; an opportunity is thus afforded for bringing in large bodies of alien settlers, from India or other regions, without any displacement of native tribes.

When we turn to consider domestic slavery among the Arabs and negroes in Africa, we encounter far fewer abuses. The African slave is not looked down upon, nor is the door of hope forever closed to him. Slaves who have survived the sufferings of transport, when exhibited in the market-places of such towns as Kano in Nigeria, were often apparently in the happiest of moods. Being an object now of considerable value, they were cared for more properly and groomed up so as to present the best appearance to intending purchasers. The slave women know that they may, through gaining the favor of their masters, become powerful and even be the mothers of kings. The male slaves also may rise to importance and wealth, if luck favors them; of course, there is still a good deal of suffering in domestic slavery, and the separation from home and dear ones is most cruel; but it does not mean absolute and abject degradation forever, and often it even opens the door to new opportunities and to a welcome change of experiences.

The slave-trade is throughout European colonies and dependencies made a criminal offense; a man so influential as the cousin of the sultan of Zanzibar was imprisoned for six months and lost all his slaves, by sentence of his sovereign relative, for being mixed up with the slave-trade. Domestic slavery, however, cannot be dealt with so harshly. The experience in Zanzibar and Pemba in this respect is most instructive. By the decree of the sultan of Zanzibar, any slave in the protectorate may demand his freedom by simply applying to so-called "Court of Slavery."

Comparatively few, however, make use of this opportunity; thus, in the year 1899, the total number was only 3,757. As a matter of fact the slaves in Zanzibar have little to gain by seeking emancipation. They are usually bound to work for only three days on the lands of their masters; in return for this they receive a house and a land-allotment. The word *mtumwa*, unlike our "slave," carries no stigma, and is simply a class designation. In fact, the relation is generally a mild kind of serfdom. The slaves often say: "Why should we seek freedom? We have a good home, plenty of food, and no hard work. Our master is kind, and we are fond of the children. What should we gain by being freed?" The serfs live in small communities around the master's house, where they enjoy fellowship and protection; emancipation, therefore, means a loss of caste and home to them. When freed, they find life dull and monotonous, and have to work too hard for a living. They often come before the court, asking to be returned to slavery, and are deeply disappointed because this cannot be done. Among those who are liberated, a large number become vagrants and a public charge. For a time it was attempted to enforce Article VI of the sultan's decree, which provides that "any person who applies for emancipation shall show that he will have a regular domicile and means of subsistence." The usual method of showing this was by bringing in a labor contractor who was ready to hire the emancipated slave and give him shelter. While the two senior missions approved of this method as preventing vagrancy, the junior mission, less experienced in African affairs, objected on the ground that it was merely a way of transferring the slave from one master to another, and its view was adopted in England. Article VI is therefore no longer enforced, and vagrancy has again increased. This example is a typical one, and shows that domestic slavery does not press very heavily upon the serfs, and that those who seek freedom generally become a public charge.

The true and complete abolition of slavery can come only with a structural change in African economic life, and can only gradually be brought about. The economic ruin of the large Arab plantations on the east coast, which is already beginning, as a

result of the changed economic conditions, will throw a larger population into the towns, and will lead to a parceling-out of the estates among peasant holders. Among the negroes in central and west Africa the increased opportunity of the slaves for gaining wealth is also tending to break down the system.

With the gradual disappearance of slavery, the question arises what system of labor organization is to take its place. The importation of contract labor from China and India is far too costly in most parts of Africa to become a general system. In western Africa it is made well-nigh impossible on account of the unfavorable climatic conditions. When it was attempted to use coolie labor in the French Congo, the mortality among the laborers ran as high as 70 per cent. In east Africa alone has Hindu contract labor been used successfully. Another method of gaining an adequate labor supply is to sanction labor contracts with the natives, or force them to work by imposing heavy taxes upon them. The high hut-taxes of southern Africa are levied for this purpose, as the only way in which the native can get the currency for paying his taxes is by working for white men in the mines or on the farms. In more direct fashion, the Glen Grey Act levies a tax of ten shillings upon every native who has not worked outside of his district for three months in the year. The extension of this peculiar use of fiscal methods to central and west Africa is often advocated, and a moderate hut-tax has already been introduced in many colonies on the west coast; but, as the conditions in these regions are so utterly different from those which prevail in white man's Africa, the initiation of methods which do not pass without challenge even in the Rhodesian sphere would certainly be unwise, and would probably invite disastrous consequences.

While it is true that the natives of the tropical regions of Africa are at present not much inclined to labor, there are still certain tribes, like the Krumen and the Hausas, and the agricultural populations under Mohammedan rule, that prove the capacity of the African for toil under proper economic conditions. Before all, there is one prominent fact which must not be overlooked in this matter: with the establishment of peace throughout Africa, with the stoppage of the murderous slave-raids and of

cannibalism, with the introduction of sanitary measures, such as vaccination, the population of Africa, which has a great natural fecundity, will rise rapidly toward the limits of subsistence. While the natives are now surrounded with an abundance of natural fruits, methods of intensive agriculture and of careful industrial work will soon become necessary in order to support the growing population. Thus far the African has made his life possible by killing his neighbor; this resource being cut off, the only alternative will be to work. No legislation, no contract-labor system, will be necessary to induce the natives to work more steadily. Moreover, it should not be believed that they are without economic wants. As a matter of fact, they already require large amounts of European manufactured goods, and their demands are constantly expanding; a corroding climate and careless habits make them far more frequent purchasers of textiles than are the thrifty Chinese. A policy that would attempt unduly to accelerate the operation of these natural causes, and would not shrink from breaking down native societies and employing force, in order to gain a quick supply of labor for the exploitation of African natural wealth, must be qualified as distinctly opposed to the purposes of civilizing activity in Africa. The general enslavement of the negro race does not offer a proper solution of the problems of African development.

It will be seen that, throughout, the foundation of a civilizing policy in Africa must be an economic one. The prevention of wasteful exploitation, and construction of roads and railways, the introduction of a metallic currency, will do away with the most inhuman abuses in African life. It will change the constitution of African society so as to prevent the exploitation of the dependent classes, while the establishment of universal peace will turn the energies of the people toward economic development. The negro population in Africa has thus far lived in the presence of overwhelming natural phenomena, and in a constant state of fluidity which has allowed but very little of settled civilization and of national self-consciousness to grow up. The negroes have, however, developed a strong sense of individual justice, and it is justice that they require, rather than the rarer gifts of benevolence

and the blessings of civilization. Now, if justice has any definite meaning, it implies respect for the sphere of an individual existence. We certainly cannot be just to the African if we demolish all his native institutions, simply because we will not take the trouble to understand them. No cruelty of war, no suffering, will be resented by the African so much as an attack upon his private property; and unless the system of concessions to European companies is to prove a curse to Africa, it must respect scrupulously the native property rights. The European must also have a care not to break up further such tribal and social unity as exists among the African populations. The basest forms of social life exist among the jetsam and flotsam of tribal populations along the African coast and in south Africa, where the original unity has been dissolved by European interference. It is here that the missions have their greatest work to do, by creating a new social unity and morality for those which have been so recklessly destroyed.

We have seen that European interference may succeed in creating a new economic basis for African life. Whether it can do more, whether it can deeply and permanently influence African life in the direction of specifically European civilization in its intellectual and moral aspects, is more doubtful. The most potent civilizing agency at all times has been example, and in this respect the relations of the white to the negro race have been particularly unfortunate. The white men who have come to Africa have either been colonial officials, impatiently waiting for their next leave of absence, with little insight into the true needs of native society; or traders whose sole purpose was to get the wealth of the natives rapidly and for the cheapest possible return. The missionaries, men often of single-hearted devotion, have been too few to act as a leavening force upon the entire mass of the African negroes. Moreover, many of them have found it difficult to put their message into the form of greatest helpfulness to the African. Their example, too, holds up the ideal of an intellectual and spiritual life, rather than that of mechanical and industrial efficiency which the Africans so much need. In these respects the Islamitic races have the advantage. They come in contact with the Africans in large numbers, as merchants, industrials, and

rulers; and it is not unlikely that they will continue to exert a far greater personal influence upon the African race than will the Europeans. This is true also of the Hindus, who are settling in large numbers along the east coast. The French seem of all European nations to be most successful in charming the African natives into civilization. Their missionaries work in large communities, and are thus assisted by the experience of many societies operating for a long time. Moreover, the French do not exhibit an excessive sense of race-superiority over the negroes. They have therefore already exercised a distinctive civilizing influence in northern Africa. The classical example of a relation of mutual friendliness between the white race and the black is the life of the unhappy island of Martinique—unhappy not only on account of cruel natural catastrophes, but on account of the terrible force of atavism which, with the gradual departure of the white population, is dragging the charming race of the island back toward the dark superstitions of African life. It is remarkable that in countries like Martinique, Hayti, and the southern states of the Union, the vices of the negro populations assume more repulsive aspects than they bear in the African home. This is due no doubt to the fact that the original social unity has in these cases been destroyed. An African society, although it may have barbarous customs, still has a certain moral character which preserves individual morality and dignity of life. This social check is very much impaired, and often totally absent, among the American negroes.

The two things which the negro race needs most are a feeling of social cohesion and responsibility, and the presence of true models in the person of leaders. The mass of the negroes cannot pattern primarily upon the whites with whom they come in contact, but should have leaders of their own race to look up to. It is only by showing consideration to negroes of high character and intelligence that the whites can assist in setting up the best models for social imitation among the negro race. No more statesman-like and far-seeing principle, both for Africa and for America, can be imagined in this matter than that of President Roosevelt, when he says that "the door of hope must not be closed upon the negro race." This does not mean, even in its most distant impli-

cation, political power over the whites, nor does it demand general social equality; it simply means that the men who are natural leaders among the negroes, on account of high qualities of mind and soul, shall not be degraded by being excluded from all chance of preferment on account of their color, and that no better service can be done the negro race than a generous recognition of the worth of its best men. Applied to Africa, it means that any policy which would treat the native negro race as destined to permanent bondage in favor of the whites, that would destroy African social life and degrade its leaders, is taking the straight road away from the salvation of the African race, and from rendering it a truly useful member of the family of nations.